

Message Text

SECRET

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN GENEVA
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S E C R E T SECTO 8022

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ACTING SECRETARY PLEASE PASS TO THE PRESIDENT
PASS TO HAROLD BROWN

SECTO 8022

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)
SUBJECT: GROMYKO-VANCE TALKS: SALT

1. AT THE END OF THIS AFTERNOON'S MEETING, GROMYKO
CAME TO WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS THE "CORE" OF HIS STATEMENT:
"I WISH TO ASK A DIRECT QUESTION - THIS IS THE CORE
OF MY STATEMENT - IF THE U.S. REALLY ATTACHES PARAMOUNT
IMPORTANCE TO THE SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF NEW TYPES
OF BALLISTIC MISSILES ON THE BASIS IT PROPOSES, WILL IT
BE PREPARED TO REGARD AS AGREED ALL OTHER QUESTIONS
(CRUISE MISSILES ON BOMBERS, TIMING FOR REDUCTIONS,
BACKFIRE, ETC.) ON THE BASIS OF OUR PROPOSALS, IN THE
EVENT WE WERE TO CONSENT TO U.S. PROPOSALS THAT FOR THE
DURATION OF THE TREATY - I.E. TO THE END OF 1985 - WITHIN
THE LIMITS OF THE RELEVANT AGGREGATE LEVELS OF STRATEGIC
ARMS AND MIRVED VEHICLES - EACH SIDE WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT
TO FLIGHT TEST AND TO DEPLOY ONE NEW TYPE OF ICBM WHICH
IT COULD EQUIP AT ITS OWN DISCRETION EITHER WITH MIRVS
OR WITH A SINGLE REENTRY VEHICLE, WHILE THERE WOULD BE
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NO LIMITATIONS WHATSOEVER ON NEW TYPES OF SLBMS?"

2. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT AMBIGUITIES IN THE
FOREGOING. FOR INSTANCE: WHEN GROMYKO SPEAKS OF ACCEPTING
THE U.S. POSITION ON "NEW TYPES OF BALLISTIC MISSILES",
DOES HE MEAN OUR FULL POSITION ON THE DEFINITION OF NEW
TYPES? WHAT DOES HE MEAN BY "ETC."? DO THE SOVIETS

ACCEPT THAT OUR MIRV TYPE RULES WOULD APPLY TO THEIR
NEW SINGLE WARHEAD MISSILE?

3. I WOULD INTEND TO EXPLORE THESE AND OTHER AMBIGUITIES
WITHOUT FLATLY REJECTING THE PROPOSAL IMPLICIT IN
GROMYKO'S QUESTION. THIS WOULD GIVE US A BASIS FOR FURTHER
EVALUATION AND RESPONSE.

4. I DO NOT INTEND TO RAISE ANY NEW POINTS WITH REGARD
TO BACKFIRE SINCE THE SOVIETS DID NOT ACCEPT OUR PROPOSAL
AS YOU DIRECTED IT BE MADE.

5. GROMYKO'S "QUESTION" WAS PROCEEDED BY HIS USUAL
COLORFUL REMARKS. HE ONCE AGAIN URGED US TO BE FIRMER
IN OUR PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR SALT, AND I TOLD HIM WE WERE
ALREADY BEING FIRM. HE ACCUSED US OF SEEKING UNILATERAL
ADVANTAGES, AND I RESPONDED THAT IT WAS THE SOVIETS WHO
WERE DOING JUST THAT AND THAT OUR PROPOSALS WERE FAIR.
HE WAS PREDICTABLY SOUR ABOUT OUR NEW TYPES PROPOSAL THAT
I MADE THIS MORNING, SAYING THAT IT WAS SIMPLY A RUSE TO
ALLOW US TO CONTINUE OUR OWN PROGRAMS AND BLOCK SOVIET
PROGRAMS. I STRESSED THAT IT WAS AN EFFORT TO BRIDGE THE
GAP, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF BOTH
SIDES. I BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT HAD TIME TO
GIVE IT ANY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION.
VANCE

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